

## **Wulfstan of York**

Wulfstan, bishop of London 996-1002, bishop of Worcester 1002-1016, and archbishop of York 1002-1023, signed some of his works "Lupus" and wrote with a style sufficiently distinctive to allow certain other texts to be assigned to him with confidence (Whitelock 1941, Whitelock 1948, McIntosh 1949, Whitelock, 1955). Although other authors quoted and imitated certain writings, usually his sermons, Wulfstan himself drew most heavily on his previous works. Our concern here is to demonstrate the extent to which his works were available for use by his contemporaries and immediate successors in the late Anglo-Saxon period.

### **Sermons**

MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421; HG 109.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419; HG 108.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201; HG 65.

Copenhagen, Gl. Kgl. S. 1595; HG 814.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 302; HG 86.

Oxford, Bodleian Hatton 113; HG 637.

Oxford, Bodleian Hatton 114; HG 638.

Oxford, Bodleian Junius 121; HG 644.

London, BL Cotton Nero A. I; HG 341.

London, BL Cotton Tiberius A. III; HG 363.

London, BL Cotton Otho B. X; HG 356.

London, BL Cotton Cleopatra B. XIII; HG 322.

London, BL Cotton Vespasian D. II; HG 388.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190; HG 59.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265; HG 73.

lists [none]

A-S Vers WHom 1b (B2.1.1).

WHom 2 (B2.1.2).

WHom 3 (B2.1.3).

WHom 4 (B2.1.4).

WHom 5 (B2.1.5).

WHom 6 (B2.2.1).

WHom 7 (B2.2.2).

WHom 7a (B2.2.3).

WHom 8b (B2.2.4).

WHom 8c (B2.2.5).

WHom 9 (B2.2.6).

WHom 10a (B2.2.7).

WHom 10c (B2.2.8).

WHom 11 (B2.2.9).

WHom 12 (B2.2.10).

WHom 13 (B2.3.1).

WHom 14 (B2.3.2).

WHom 15 (B2.3.3).

WHom 16b (B2.3.4).

WHom 17 (B2.3.5).

WHom 18 (B2.3.6).

WHom 19 (B2.4.1).

WHom 20.1 (B2.4.2.A).

WHom 20.2 (B2.4.2.B).

WHom 20.3 (B2.4.2.C).

WHom 21 (B2.4.3).

Quots/Cits 1. HomS 30 (TristrApp 2; B3.2.30) 131-43.

2. HomU 32 (Nap 40; B3.4.32.3) 188.11-189.2, 5-7, 11-15.

3. HomU 34 (Nap 42; B3.4.34) 191.25-192.8, 11-13, 202.19-205.3.

4. HomU 44 (Nap 55; B3.4.44) 282.22-283.18.

5. HomU 47 (Nap 58; B3.4.47) 300: 6-9, 301.5-302.10, 303.27-304.14, 306: 17-30.

6. LS 28 (Neot; B3.3.28) 24-36.

7. Seasons (A31) 164-65; 181-83; 200-205.

Refs [none]

As Dorothy Bethurum, the editor of Wulfstan's sermons (termed homilies in her edition), observed, "Wulfstan's purple passages were used to adorn miscellaneous sermons for a long time" (Bethurum 1957 p 43). This can be seen clearly in many of the Wulfstanian materials in Napier's collection, which quote and allude to Wulfstan's sermons (Jost 1950 pp 208-66; Bethurum 1957 pp 41-43; Whitelock 1966 pp 19-23, 35-36). These items combine Wulfstan and other sources into a pastiche with a structure of its own (Whitbread 1963, Szarmach 1974 p 8). Prose authors freely combined Wulfstan with passages from late Old English poetry, so it is not surprising that at least one poet, working from prose sources, echoed three of Wulfstan's sermons (WHom 8b, WHom 14, WHom 17). The least appropriate use of his work occurs in the Old English life of St. Neot, an example from a genre

alien to the archbishop, where lines from his famous Sermo Lupi ad Anglos provide a hortative conclusion to a miraculous vita.

Canons of Edgar [WCan 1.1.1, WCan 1.1.2]

MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201: HG 65.

Oxford, Bodleian Junius 121: HG 644.

Cambridge, University Library Add. 3206: 30.

Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale 8558-63 (2498): HG 808.

Lists [none]

A-S Vers WCan 1.1.1 (Fowler; B13.1.1.1)

WCan 1.1.2 (Fowler; B13.1.1.2)

Quots/Cits 1. WCan 1.2 (Torkar; B13.1.2) entire.

2. WCan 1.1 (Fowler App. II) 1-2, 9-16.

Refs [none].

As described by its latest editor, The Canons of Edgar is Wulfstan's version of a pastoral letter to the secular clergy addressing the issues of their status, their standards of morality, and their responsibilities to the faithful (Fowler 1972 p xlvi). He provides detailed directions concerning church practices, such as the conduct of the Mass, and matters to preach to the laity. Two fragmentary texts using portions of Canons survive in copies from the eleventh century. More generally, however, the themes and pronouncements in Canons appear throughout Wulfstan's work, especially in his Institutes of Polity, hence the difficulty in assigning a specific work as a source.

The Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical [WPol 2.1.1  
Jost]

MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201: HG 65.

London, BL Cotton Nero A.i: HG 341.

Cambridge, University Library Add. 3206: HG 30.

Oxford, Bodley Junius 121: HG 644.

A-S Vers WPol 2.1.1 (Jost; B13.2.1.1).

WPol 2.1.2 (Jost; B13.2.1.2).

WPol 2.2.1 (Jost; B13.2.2.1).

WPol 2.2.2 (Jost; B13.2.2.2).

WPol 2.2.3 (Jost; B13.2.2.3).

WPol 2.3 (Jost; B13.2.3).

WPol 3 (Jost; B13.3).

WPol 4 (Jost; B13.4).

WPol 6.1 (Jost; B13.6.1).

WPol 6.2 (Jost; B13.6.2).

Lists [none]

Quots/Cits 1. HomU 27 (Nap 30; B3.4.30) 143.6-15, 143.22-144.28;  
150.3-9.

2. HomU 47 (Nap 58; B3.4.47) 304.18-305.6, 305.17-23.

Refs [none]

The Institutes of Polity is Wulfstan's contribution to estates literature in Anglo-Saxon England, in which he describes the duties of each class of men. This work occurs in manuscripts with the earlier Canons of Edgar to which it is related in spirit. Both are excerpted and echoed by homilists in need of

prescriptive statements. Institutes, however, is a looser collection of sections that could circulate independently as well as part of the larger work.

Northumbrian Priests Law [LawNorthu]

MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201; HG 65.

Lists [none]

A-S Vers LawNorthu (B14.32)

Quots/Cits 1. WCan 1.1. (Fowler App. II) 3-5.

Refs [none]

As adviser to two kings, Aethelred and Cnut, Wulfstan drafted and revised royal legislation that bears the stamp of his style and moral agenda (Whitelock 1948 and 1955; Wormald 1978 pp 57-8). Six anonymous short codes including LawNorthu have been attributed to Wulfstan by Whitelock (1963) on the basis of their close relationship to his other writings. In the present case Wulfstan seems to have rewritten an earlier law specifying the wergeld of different ranks in Northumbria and added to it prescriptions concerning the duties and behavior of priests.

VI Aethelred [LawVIAtr]

MSS London, BL Cotton Claudius Aiii: HG 314.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201: HG 65.

Lists [none]

A-S Vers LawVIAtr (B14.24).

Quots/Cits 1. Seasons (A31) 43-46.

Refs [none]

The provision that the English follow the dates for Ember  
fasts set by Gregory the Great is stated directly in VI AEthelred  
23 and echoed by the poet of Seasons for Fasting.

M. P. R.

9-24-90